

News- SOCIAL Letter ACTION

Vol. XVI, No. 1

Indianapolis, Indiana

January, 1952

The U.S. Peace Offensive

"There are three ways in which a nation can try to obtain its objectives on the international scene; it can go to war, it can accumulate overwhelming power, or it can negotiate a settlement." In these words Prof. Hans Morgenthau sums up the roads before us (*Nation*, May 20, 1950).

In another column of this issue it is pointed out that there is some evidence that the United States has been forced to revise its reliance upon the second of these, which has been its policy for some four years. But is the US government ready to begin use of the last—negotiation? The re-armament program has been repeatedly justified by President Truman and his military and foreign advisers on the ground that it is intended "to create situations of strength" from which we could successfully negotiate with Russia. But what has been sought is apparently not a balance of power but "overwhelming power." In such a situation it is doubtful whether negotiation can take place. Dictation is much more probable.

It is significant to note, therefore, that one of the chief proposals of the United States in its recent shift in policy is one for the "regulation, limitation, and balanced reduction of armaments." The specific proposal of this program was made jointly by Britain, France and the United States on Nov. 8 to the General Assembly of the United Nations. The following day it was ridiculed by Mr. Andrei Vishinsky of the Soviet Union, who called it hypocritical. Mr. Reston, Washington correspondent of the conservative *New York Times* stated, "If the truth is to be reported, there are a lot of people around here who believe there is some justification for the charge."

These cynical appraisals of the tripartite proposal may be helpfully considered in the light of a column by Joseph C. Harsh (*Christian Science Monitor*, Feb. 2, 1951), entitled, "Peace Offensive Launched Against Russia." In this article, written just after President Truman announced that he had ordered the Military to proceed to manufacture the H-bomb, Mr. Harsh stated that it had become clear that the controversy which preceded this announcement was over whether we should undertake "a peace offensive against the Russian Government or... attempt to negotiate an atomic settlement with the Russian Government." The difference between the two, said Mr. Harsh is that the former "starts with the theory that a real peace is not possible" while the latter assumes that it is.

The "play" involving the present decision.

(Cont'd. on P. 4, Col. 3)

A New U. S. Global Strategy?

What may prove to be a totally new U. S. global strategy has been in the making for the past six months. Naturally, no public announcement of the fact has been made, but nevertheless its component parts have all been laid out on the table for those to put together who can.

The underlying fact, which Walter W. Sikes discussed in the December *Social Action News-Letter*, is that a 60 division army for Western Europe by 1954 cannot be achieved except under one of three conditions. The first is that armament production by the North Atlantic Treaty Nations be materially increased over present output. The second is that the NATO countries deliberately plan to reduce the output of "butter" in order to devote more of present production to guns — meaning by "butter" all types of consumer goods. The third is that the U.S., in addition to its already heavy commitments, agree to cover the gap which the European countries are unable to bridge. The Ottawa Conference in September appointed a committee of twelve, one from each of the NATO countries, to examine the facts concerning the economic capacities of each of the European member-

NPA Acts On Church Building Permits

Robert A. Fangmeier

Special to SOCIAL ACTION NEWS-LETTER

With over two-thirds of the applications processed for the first quarter of 1952, the National Production Authority on Dec. 19 approved permits for materials for four churches of the Disciples of Christ costing \$584,000, and denied seven other applications totaling an estimated \$1,645,000.

For all church-sponsored construction during the January-March 1952 period the NPA approved 66 projects, gave limited approval to seven and denied 301. By religious groups, the NPA approved 26 Catholic projects and denied 60, approved 38 Protestant applications and denied 227. Four Jewish applications were approved and 14 denied.

Those receiving full approval get both building permits and allocation of scarce construction materials. Construction using less than 200 pounds of aluminum, 400 pounds of copper, or two tons of steel do not require government authorization.

The Disciple projects approved are:

Mt. Lebanon Christian Church, Pittsburgh, Pa., \$100,000.

First Christian Church, Burlington, N. C. (religious education unit) \$93,000.

South Salem Christian Church, Salem, Va. \$35,000.

Lakewood Christian Church, Lakewood, Ohio, \$320,000.

Government officials pointed out that applications denied in one quarter may be re-submitted in the succeeding quarter and may be approved if sufficient materials are available. In cases where churches feel their applications have not been adequately considered they may file a supplemental application with NPA's Construction Materials Division. If this too is denied, an appeal may be taken to an Appeals Board which has already granted relief in nearly a dozen cases. Mobilization agencies in Washington

(Cont'd. on P. 3, Col. 3)

nations. The executive committee of this group, W. Averell Harriman (U.S.) chairman, Sir Edwin Plowden (Britain) and Jean Monnet (France) made its draft report on Dec. 11. The report, in substance, says that the Atlantic Pact nations can meet the armament program provided the Western European members can increase their production an average of 14 percent over the next three years. Since these nations despite their heavy industrial destruction, are now producing at about 40 percent above their pre-war capacity this is something like saying to a man that he can afford to own a yacht if he can increase his income sufficiently to maintain and operate it. As for further reducing the European standard of living, already dangerously low, all concerned are acutely aware that this would immediately be seized upon for propaganda purposes by the Communist parties in these lands, with perhaps disastrous results. As to increased U. S. appropriations to bridge the gap both Secretary of the Treasury Snyder, undoubtedly with President Truman's backing, and influential members of Congress have turned thumbs down on any such proposal. That leaves only a fourth alternative—that the European arms program be trimmed down to size and that instead of leading "from strength" as Secretary Acheson planned, solutions be sought on the diplomatic and political level. This appears to be the course chosen.

The *United Nations World* in a leading article in its December issue ("Acheson's Offensive") says that Secretary Acheson chose the Sixth General Assembly of the U. N. meeting in Paris "to give notice to the world of the momentous change in the American approach to foreign affairs" and that for the first time the U. S. "offers a comprehensive diplomatic solution of the explosive problems that have been plaguing the post-war world."

One of the major aspects of this change in policy was the announcement in mid-December that General Eisenhower

(Cont'd. on P. 4, Col. 1)

SOCIAL ACTION NEWS-LETTER

Published monthly, except for joint July-August issue, by the Department of Social Welfare, The United Christian Missionary Society, 222 South Downey Avenue, Indianapolis 7, Indiana.

Subscription price \$1.00 per year.

Entered as second class mail matter September 2, 1943, at Indianapolis, Indiana, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Editorial Staff

James A. Crain Walter W. Sikes
Robert A. Fangmeier—Washington Corres.
Mrs. Ruth Estes Milner

The opinions and points of view expressed in this publication are those of the editors and do not necessarily represent The United Christian Missionary Society.

Vatican Issue To Congress

According to reports President Truman is determined to take the issue of the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican to Congress early in the session which begins on January 8 and to press for action. He is quoted as saying that he had promised the pope to send such an ambassador and that he intended to keep his word. At least one correspondent who wrote protesting the appointment reports having received a caustic reply from a Presidential secretary.

A Senator who is opposed to the appointment will vote against it if it comes up in the Senate but who prefers not to be named publicly at this time says that he has received "thousands and thousands" of letters on the subject, all but a half dozen or so opposing it. Many Roman Catholics, he says, oppose the appointment, believing that it will make matters more difficult for them and their church if it goes through. This Senator also doubts that the nomination will get out of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, since Senator Tom Connally (D. Tex.) is bitterly opposed to General Mark Clark, the nominee, because many Texans charge the General with responsibility for the heavy casualties suffered by Texas troops in the battle of the Rapido Crossing in the Italian campaign. Diplomatic appointments require only confirmation by the Senate, but in the case of General Clark approval of both houses of Congress would be necessary to permit him to hold a civilian post without resigning from the armed forces.

The Senator above referred to, when asked what ordinary citizens can do to stop this appointment, replied that the best thing to do is to send letters, thousands of them, to Senator Tom Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D.C., urging that the appointment be not approved, and that similar letters go to the two Senators from the writer's own state.

The issue is far wider than the simple question of diplomatic representation at the Vatican. It encompasses the whole range of church state relationships in the United States, including that of giving one church a preferred status in relationship to the national government. Since there can be no conceivable political

Washington Round-Up

Legislative Mill: As Congress works through the second session of the 82nd Congress it will have at least one eye on the political nominating conventions next summer, and the subsequent verdict which the people will render in November 1952. Customarily, Congress deals with the great bulk of appropriation measures in the first session, and issues of a social nature are considered in the second session, just before campaign time. This year at least seven issues charged with emotional and political importance must be decided or avoided before one-third of the Senate, all of the members of the House, and the President, if he chooses, stand for re-election.

* * *

Vatican Issue: When President Truman resubmitted the nomination of Gen. Mark Clark to be Ambassador to Vatican City despite mounting protest, neutral observers predicted that the Senate would not confirm him. It is possible also that the nomination may not reach a vote in the Senate. Another possible outcome, if hearings are prolonged, as Chairman Tom Connally (D. Tex.) of the Senator Foreign Relations Committee promises, and bitter, as seems likely, is that the Foreign Relations Committee may vote to postpone action on the nomination, thus killing the move to re-establish relations with the Vatican. If this occurs only the unlikely prospect of a majority vote of the Senate could dislodge the nomination from the Committee and bring it to the Senate floor for a vote. Opponents of the nomination will concentrate pressure on members of the Committee in the early days of the Vatican fight since it is here that the Administration and big city machines will make felt unseen but powerful influence. A Senate Foreign Relations Committee spokesman told Washington Round Up that in the event the nomination is defeated or postponed, the President may still follow the Myron Taylor precedent and appoint a personal representative. In the case of Mr. Taylor, Senate confirmation was not required, and no money was requested from Congress to support the mission. Before Gen. Clark's confirmation is considered by the Senate, both the House and the Senate must vote to exempt him from the 1870 law which bars military men from holding civilian positions.

* * *

Early UMT Action: Chairman Carl Vinson (D.Ga.) announced the start of hearings on Universal Military Training, Jan. 9, the day after Congress reconvened. Indications point to an effort to

rush the plan of the National Security Training Commission through Congress with a minimum of hearing time allotted to opposition witnesses. The Commission plan which calls for drafting men age 18 for 6 months, and 7½ years of reserve duty, will be stoutly opposed, however by those who point to the historic change in policy at a time when sufficient men are already being drafted to meet the needs of the armed forces. They will also ask why policy should be implemented now, and additional billions of dollars spent, when the program cannot be put into action in the foreseeable future. Senator Lyndon Johnson (D.Tex.), chairman of the Senate Preparedness Sub-Committee also is expected to start hearings soon. Meanwhile, the CIO and AFL which supported the draft extension, have announced opposition to UMT.

* * *

Civil Rights: President Truman has issued an Executive Order establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission to investigate racial discrimination among government contractors and the federal government itself. Government contracts for production of military and other supplies have for some years prohibited discrimination. It will be the task of this commission, not yet named, to investigate and recommend policies to the President which can eliminate discrimination. This new FEPC, unlike the World War II Commission has no enforcement power. Civil rights advocates hailed the program as a "step forward but not far enough," while opponents called it President Truman's bid for Negro support in 1952.

* * *

Washington Scandals: Whether Congress is seriously indignant at the bribery, graft, and indiscretion revealed during the past months may be determined by its attitude towards several bills introduced by Senator Paul Douglas (D.Ill.). As a result of investigations by his Committee on Ethics in Government, Senator Douglas, an active Quaker, has introduced legislation (S.2284) requiring Federal officials and members of Congress receiving a salary \$10,000 or more to disclose "their incomes, assets, and all dealings in securities and commodities." President Truman has indicated he will support such legislation. Another bill (S.2293) by Senator Douglas would make dismissal of Federal employees mandatory where they accepted liquor, entertainment, and gifts from persons doing business with their departments. A third bill calls for a joint resolution of both houses of Congress to set up a 15-man public commission to investigate and recommend action to strengthen the integrity of the government, and public morality generally, which is to a large extent responsible for this laxity among men in public office. Senator J. William Fullbright (D.Ark.), a Disciple layman introduced the original legislation establishing the Douglas Committee to investigate ethics in government.

al problems requiring diplomatic representation to the Vatican's 108 acres and 1,000 citizens, it is obviously an appointment to a religious institution—a thing repugnant to American tradition.

On Social Frontiers

Italy Redistributes Estates: The Italian government recently took steps to compel members of the Roman nobility to give up some 85,400 acres of arable land for redistribution to landless peasants in keeping with De Gaspari's campaign promise. Under the new law no person is allowed to own more than 800 acres. This will mean that some estates will be cut from 20 to 80 percent. By 1955 the government expects to redistribute 1,500,000 acres of land to 100,000 peasant families. The existence of large landed estates owned by absentee nobles and worked by peasants little above serfdom has long been a serious social problem in Italy.

* * *

Embarrassing Question: The Rev. Marcel Pradervand, executive secretary of the Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System, speaking in the First Presbyterian Church, Forest Hills, New York City, on Dec. 9, following a seven week tour of Latin America, said that persecution of Protestants in Latin America is common, especially because they are usually politically liberal. Dr. Pradervand declared that the Church of Rome has done little to bring Christ to the people and virtually nothing in opposition to the totalitarian forces evident there. Instead of maintaining "an unholy association with totalitarianism," he asked, "why doesn't the Roman Catholic Church fight against authoritarianism?" Because of its own authoritarian structure, he said, the Roman Catholic Church cannot be the great opponent of Communism it claims to be.

* * *

New Refugee Organization: With the liquidation of the International Refugee Organization on Dec. 31, 1951, representatives of 23 free nations met in a Migration Conference in Brussels in December to form a new organization. They came up with the "Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe." Despite its name the new agency will have the machinery, the funds and the necessary international support to make a start toward alleviating the pressure of Europe's refugee population. It is planned to move 15,000 persons during the next year. The budget is \$37 million, of which the U. S. is providing a sizeable share. It is estimated that there are 5 million people hammering at their own frontiers anxious to get to some other land.

* * *

Racial Integration Succeeds: The Army-Navy-Air Force Journal reports that experience gained in Korea during the last half of 1951 with integration of Negro soldiers into combat units has resulted in more efficient use of manpower and more effective use of Negro troops. At present there is no segregation of basic training units in the United States and none in the Far East command. It is expected that the experiment will be extended to the European Command early in 1952 and by the end of next year will be made Army-wide.

National Council Divisions

Meet

Just a year after the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. was formed at Cleveland, O., two of its important constituent divisions—Home Missions and Christian Life and Work—met at Buck Hill Falls, Pa., Dec. 9-14 to assess the results of the year's experience. The Division of Home Missions met from Dec. 9 to 11, joining with the Division of Christian Life and Work in a joint session on Dec. 12, with the latter continuing through Dec. 14. The Division of Foreign Missions will hold its meeting in January in Toronto and the Division of Christian Education in February, following the custom of its predecessor organization, the International Council of Religious Education.

Despite the difficulties inherent in getting a new organization under way, especially one which is a merger of eight pre-existing organizations, each with its own governing board and its own policies, there was a general feeling of satisfaction with the results of the first year of the National Council. Many problems remain to be solved. The administrative machinery is still in the "shake-down" stage and there are a number of questions of procedure and policy that have not been answered. But the delegates seemed to feel that these were conditions inevitable in any merger of such magnitude.

The Division of Home missions, successor to the Home Missions Council of North America, had its program pattern set for it by the nature of its task. Its sessions were concerned with home missions and human rights, the rural church, developing new urban churches, migrant labor, sharecropper conditions, the needs of our Indian population, the ministry of the church to defense communities, and the use of mass media of communication in the home missions task.

The joint session on Dec. 12 was devoted to consideration of the nation's needs and the churches, programs in the field of social welfare, the religious ministry to racial and cultural groups, and the part played by race relations in the world struggle.

In contrast with the closely organized program of the Division of Home Missions the program of the Division of Christian Life and Work was designedly free and undirected.

More than any other section of the National Council the Division of Christian Life and Work, carrying the responsibilities formerly the functions of the Federal Council, operates in areas of social conflict. This includes international relations, racial and cultural relations, the church and economic life, and social welfare, plus some new activities assigned to the division under the merger. Discussion centered principally around three subjects, corruption in public life, the need for the churches to

(Cont'd. on P. 4, Col. 2)

Volksdeutsche Program

Hundreds of German expellees are arriving in the United States every week—9 ships in October, 11 in November.

These people are our fellow-Protestants. They have suffered deportation, hardship, loss, but their love of freedom has survived. They want only one thing—to begin life anew. They are excellent workers.

The Department of Social Welfare, working to complete its blanket of 100 families now has available skilled mechanics, carpenters, brick masons, couples wanting domestic service, a tinsmith, a shoemaker, and several farm families.

The 50-odd families placed since Sept. 27 are proving very satisfactory to their sponsors. The need for immediate action is urgent because of the rapid processing of families in Europe. Farmers planning to secure one of these families for Spring placement should act now.

All that these people ask is a chance to have a home, a job at the prevailing wage rate, a school, a church and neighbors who are friendly. Here is an opportunity to help others by helping ourselves. Write to Ruth E. Milner, 222 S. Downey Avenue, Indianapolis 7, Indiana, specifying what type of work is available, the cash wages offered as a beginning and that a home will be ready when the refugee family arrives. Case histories will be sent to prospective sponsors upon request.

Churches, Sunday schools, youth groups and individuals who have given thought to sharing in this worthy project should act at once.

R.E.M.

(Cont'd. from P. 1, Col. 2)

now predict that the materials situation will be extremely tight for the first nine months of 1952, with a possible easing of conditions later in the year.

Among the Disciple projects disapproved are listed some of our largest churches, including congregations in Kentucky, Indiana, Kansas, Texas, and Missouri. Presumably, these churches will be free to renew their application for the second quarter, April 1, 1952. In point of cost these denied applications run from an estimated \$75,000 to an estimated \$600,000 plus.

A breakdown by religious faiths shows that Protestant applications approved totaled slightly more than 14 percent (38 out of a total of 265), Roman Catholics, about 30 percent (26 out of a total of 86), and Jewish congregations 22 percent (4 out of 14).

In denying these and other applications NPA said that the applications for steel in the first quarter of 1952 totaled more than 200 percent of the available supply. The agency declared that the major portion of steel production must be channeled into direct defense programs and the remainder apportioned among various civilian projects.

In the last quarter of 1951, 174 out of 650 church construction applications were approved. Permits were approved only for those projects which were at least 20 percent completed.

Strategy? . . .

(Cont'd. from P. 1, Col. 3)

would get 30 divisions by June 30, 1952. While no announcement was made of the abandonment of the 60 division goal by 1954, the official silence on this subject is significant. There is evidence that even this 30 division goal was agreed to only after some extremely plain talk. A group of U. S. Congressmen in Paris in early December charged pointedly that some of our European allies are not devoting a sufficient amount of their national income to defense purposes. Harold Callender, in a dispatch from Paris to the *New York Times* on Dec. 11, pointed out that only three of the Atlantic Pact Powers, the United States, France and Britain, are devoting as much as 10 percent of their national income to defense, though Canada is almost at that figure. There are evidences that the Harriman-Plowden-Monnet committee had serious difficulties in arriving at an agreement. Walter Kerr, in a dispatch to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* dated Dec. 5 stated that these "serious differences of opinion" were responsible in part for a directive from the full 12-man committee to the executive committee to arrive at an agreement and to have a draft report ready for the full committee by Dec. 14. Under this sort of pressure the compromise agreement or a 30 division army by 1952 was reached. The issue which divided the executive committee was between the Harriman thesis which called for a force-in-being capable of meeting a Russian attack and the Monnet contention that only a force sufficient to deter Russian aggression was needed, with future commitments to "depend on the decision of the 12 governments, on the extent of their effort and to the degree to which they agree on the goal."

It is significant that almost immediately after the 12-man committee met and adopted the reduced armament program the French parliament approved the Schuman Plan for integration of the German-French coal and steel industry and that Prime Minister Churchill announced Britain's willingness to "collaborate" closely with the European army, though unwilling to have her forces integrated into it.

This, then, is the background for the new Acheson offensive which, says *U. N. World*, is "infinitely more than trying to put up a good showing at a crucial international conference," and "an entirely new element on the international scene." The first objective will be to take from Russia the initiative in the propaganda field where she has built up the false picture of herself as the defender of freedom and democracy and the rights of the underprivileged against the aggressive intentions of the West, particularly of the U. S. It is an offensive to recapture the imagination and loyalty of the one-and-a-half-billion human beings who live under colonialism or economic feudalism. To be successful this propaganda will have to be accompanied by concrete ac-

Meet . . . (Cont'd. from P. 3, Col. 2)

develop a program of citizenship education and action, and the cumbersome procedure through which all actions of the National Council must pass before action can be taken. The Assembly disposed of the first two by voting to request the National Council to recommend sound procedures for action in local communities and to create an Advisory Commission to prepare the basis for a long range program of promotion of good citizenship and cultivation of a sense of Christian vocation in politics.

But the issue which caused the greatest amount of discussion was the long and involved process through which actions and pronouncements of departments and division of the Council must pass before they can be released. Except where a policy has been clearly determined by the Council itself no statement or action of a department or division can be released to the public until it is approved by the General Board. It was recognized that this is a necessary restriction, but one which is especially burdensome to the Division of Christian Life and Work since none of the pronouncements and actions of the Federal Council were carried over into the National Council, not even such historic documents as the Social Ideals of the Churches or the 1946 declaration against segregation. As a result of discussion the Assembly voted to ask the Division staff to prepare a summary of principles and policies for guidance and to submit same to the General Board for its consideration at an early date.

Following the meeting of the Assembly the Denominational Staff Council, composed of the social education and action secretaries of communions affiliated with the National Council met on the evening of Dec. 14 and on Saturday, Dec. 15.

J.A.C.

tions—actions which will require both economic and political aid and which may be resisted both by some of our own people and by our allies. Paul Hoffman, former ECA Administrator and now president of the Ford Foundation, recently proposed that the U. S. invest approximately one percent of its annual income, approximately \$2 billion a year, in promoting peace and prosperity throughout the world. Says Mr. Hoffman, "It is my opinion that we might well be on the way to committing national suicide if we should permit chaotic conditions to develop in the free world through our failure to help people to help themselves." To a nation planning to spend \$53.8 billion on arms in the calendar year 1952 and \$60 billion in 1953, this would appear to be a chance worth taking.

Many Americans and a large number of Europeans have long felt that our frantic efforts to rearm were not achieving the desired results and were furnishing the Communists with ammunition for the campaign to picture us as "warmongers." Let us hope that the new policy will prove to be the way to peace and freedom.

J.A.C.

Offensive . . .

(Cont'd. from P. 1, Col. 1)

bate on arms control has been long in the making. On Oct. 31 last Mr. Frank Nash, US representative in the UN on military matters, declared that the prologue was over and that the play was about to begin. President Truman recited the prologue Oct. 24, 1950, when he told the UN Assembly that we were ready to stop the arms race, following a plan that would include all weapons and all nations, and would permit continuous inspection to determine its observance. He also suggested merging the two commissions of the UN responsible for armament control—the Commission on Conventional Armaments and the Atomic Energy Commission. This unification of discussion and procedure to cover all arms was proposed some three years earlier by the Russians.

In the meantime a Committee of Twelve had worked with this prologue. And the one concrete recommendation of this Committee so far is to merge the Commissions.

So far the prologue is auspicious. But the structure of the play is not nearly so clear. So far there is only discussion of the lines. No decision has been made to stage it.

Mr. Vishinsky said he kept himself awake laughing the night after he heard the lines read for the first time. It may well be so. For there was something very familiar to Russian ears not only in the prologue but the whole first act had been practically cribbed from a 1946 proposal made by Russia to the Security Council. This act plans for a continuing inventory of all arms of all nations to be verified by neutral inspectors. "We have sunk to a pitiful state, indeed," remarked the *New Republic* editorially, "when we pass off as American policy spurious proposals borrowed from the Russians."

The second act is quite obscure—and perhaps this is its greatest strength. According to President Truman, who scooped the story in an address to the Nation on Nov. 7, this would consist of paring down forces in stages, beginning with the less vital and proceeding to the most vital armaments. But the tri-partite plan fortunately omits this obviously impractical feature.

The third act would prescribe agreed upon limitations of the kind and amount of arms to be permitted to each nation according to criteria to be worked out.

The most encouraging aspect of the proposal is that it opens the door to abandonment of the Baruch proposal for the control of atomic energy and a new approach to the whole question. For it is quite certain that neither Russia nor the United States would approve now any plan that would vest complete ownership and control of atomic energy from the mine to the consumer in an international authority—the key to the Baruch plan on which the UN has long been deadlocked.